DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 134 921 CG 011 170

AUTHOR Beckman, Linda J.
TITLE Values of Parenthood Among Women Who Want an Only Child.
PUB DATE Sep 76
NOTE 22p.; Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association (84th, Washington, D.C., September 3-7, 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Attitudes; Children; *Family Planning; *Females; *Mother Attitudes; *Motivation; Parent Child Relationship; *Personal Values; Research Projects; Social Factors; Values
IDENTIFIERS *Only Children

ABSTRACT

The desire for only one child runs counter to the prevailing social norms, and understanding of such mothers' motives may illuminate their interactions with and influences on the only child. In the present study a sample of 583 married women aged 18 to 49 was interviewed to examine (1) the incidence of women desiring only children and the sociodemographic factors associated with this desire, and (2) the relative rewards and costs of parenthood as perceived by women desiring various family sizes. Previous researchers' findings were confirmed, showing that the desire to have only one child is not common. However, no significant sociodemographic differences were discovered differentiating women desiring various family sizes. On the positive values of parenthood, women desiring an only child feel intermediate between those desiring no children and those wanting two or more children. On the negative values the findings generally supported the hypothesis that women desiring only one child were more concerned about additional children reducing their freedom and alternative role options than were women wanting two or more children. Finally, it was shown that women desiring only children rated the personal benefits of parenthood involving the relationship between parent and child as high as did other women. (Author)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED134921

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Values of Parenthood Among Women Who Want an Only Child*

Linda J. Beckman

University of California, Los Angeles

In considering the only child, it may be fruitful to examine certain characteristics of mothers of only children that may influence them to desire a particular family size, influence their interactions with their child, and contribute to the only child's own characteristics. The actual characteristics of mothers are also important in that they can be compared with common stereotypes regarding what mothers of only children are like.

Most people agree that having an only child is not a desirable behavior (for reviews of such studies see Thompson, 1974; Blake, 1966). Even college students find it much more appealing to have no children than to have one child (Thompson & Appelbaum, 1967), and more than half (52 percent) of the members of Zero Population Growth, a group known for its beliefs regarding limitation of conception, appear to share the general population's negative stereotype of one-child families (Fawcett, 1971). Thus, the belief has arisen that parents of only children are selfish, neurotic, cold and otherwise maladjusted (Rainwater, 1965; Kiesler, n.d.). The parent that has generally borne the brunt of the weight for having these undesirable characteristics is the mother (Thompson, 1974). In part this is because most researchers have ignored fathers of only children since it usually is implicitly assumed that the mother's behavior and characteristics have more influence on her progeny than does the father's behavior and characteristics.

CG011170

*Paper presented at American Psychological Association meetings, Washington, D.C., September 1976. Preparation of this paper was supported by Contract HD52807 from the Center for Population Research of the National Institutes of Health.

In contrast to the common stereotype of mothers of only children, the limited research that is available generally has failed to find many personality characteristics associated with actual or desired family size (e.g., Terhune, 1974; Westoff, Potter & Sagi, 1963; Westoff, Potter, Sagi & Mishler, 1961). Among the few personality characteristics that have been related to smaller family size desires are sex-role traditionalism (Lott, 1973), modernity (Gough, 1973) and femininity (Gough, 1973). Despite declining demographic differentials in fertility, demographic characteristics correlated with family size are somewhat more clearcut. Women who desire smaller families are known to be of higher education and occupational status (Whelpton, Campbell & Patterson, 1966), and are less likely to be Catholic (Ryder & Westoff, 1972) than those who desire large families. However, the number of women in these surveys who desire an only child has generally been so small that detailed analyses of only child women have been ignored.

Although studies of motivation for parenthood and psychological determinants of actual and desired family size (e.g., Terhune, 1973; Davidson & Jaccard, 1975; Townes et al., 1974; Beckman, 1976) have compared reasons for desiring various family sizes, because of the small number of women who desire an only child (Thompson, 1974; Blake, 1966; Rainwater, 1965) the factors motivating these atypical women to have only children have not specifically been explored. Do most women voluntarily choose to have an only child or is an only birth generally associated with subfecundity among women? This paper examines the factors that influence or motivate women to desire an only child despite significant normative pressures to produce at least two children and examines differences in values regarding parenthood between women who desire only one child and women who desire more than one child.

One possibility is that women who want an only child like children less and/or receive fewer rewards from interacting with children than do other women. They also may consider as more important than do other women certain negative aspects of parenthood such as the work and energy children involve or the childcare tasks themselves. Another hypothesis is that such women are more interested or involved in other role options (such as employment, educational attainment or a career) with which parenthood may interfere than are the majority of women.

Data from a Los Angeles County representative sample of 583 currently married women aged 18 to 49 will be discussed. First, the incidence of women who desire an only child and the sociodemographic factors associated with such desires will be delineated. Then, the values (i.e., rewards and costs) of parenthood in general, additional children and employment will be compared for those who desire different family sizes. While some of these values could be the result of rationalization associated with attaining a family size not initially desired, others may be motivating factors that influence women to have an only child. Although admittedly it is difficult to separate these two sources of variance in a cross-sectional analysis such as the present one, women's currently perceived values of children have been observed to influence behavioral intentions regarding additional childbearing (Beckman, in press; Davidson & Jaccard, 1975; Townes et al., 1974) and thus, future fertility.

Method

Sample

A multistage area probability sample of 583 women aged 18 to 49, currently married and living with spouse in Los Angeles County, was selected using the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area Survey (LAMAS) sampling frame. This county frame was constructed by arranging all county block groups

(tha primary sampling unit) into 10 geographic regions. Within each region, primary sampling units were assigned to strata on the basis of a) tha percentage of housing units with an Anglo head of household, b) tha percentage of owner-occupied housing, and c) an index of housing value. Within each stratum, the primary sampling units (the block groups) were sampled with probabilities proportional to size (i.e., the number of housing units).

The overall refusal rate for the study was 20.6 percent. Comparison of tha demographic characteristics of the sample with similar data both from 1970 Los Angeles County Census and from more recent county-representative surveys and population estimates shows that differences between the characteristics of the present sample and the more general county distribution on demographic variables are well within tolerable limits. Although the present sample had a greater proportion of minority women and a higher family income than a one percent sample of similar women in the 1970 Los Angeles County Census, income level and the proportion of minority members have been increasing in Los Angeles County since 1970 (Roof, 1975).

Procedures

A letter was sent to all households selected through the sampling procedures to provide an overview of the study and inform the residents that an interviewer would be contacting them. Interviewers were required to make five callbacks at various times at a residence, if necessary, to obtain screening data to determine eligibility and to contact an eligible respondent in order to explain the general purpose of the study and request tha eligible woman's voluntary participation in the survey. If more than one eligible resided at the household, only one (chosen according to selection procedures outlined by Kish [1965]) was interviewed. Each re-

spondent participated in a personal interview during which a female interviewer followed a standardized schedule of structured and open-ended questions that averaged 70 minutes in length.

Instruments

The interview schedule included questions regarding the satisfactions and costs of parenthood and employment, fertility and contraceptive history, desired family size, marital, employment and educational history and other demographic data. Structured questions assessed the satisfactions and costs of parenthood in general (38 items), employment (27 items) and an additional child (47 items).[1] Each statement was rated by the respondent on a seven-point importance scale ranging from "1," Of No Importance to "7," Extremely Important. The structured statements were an expanded version of an instrument used in a previous study of the motivations for parenthood of 123 employed women (Beckman, 1974). Desire for children was assessed by the question "If you could have just what you wanted, altogether how many children would you like to have, that is, how large of a family would you want?"

Results

Proportion and Characteristics of Women Who Want an Only Child

As shown in Table 1, the first strong finding to emerge from the data is that, as in previous studies, desire for an only child is

---

Insert Table 1 About Here

---

not a common trait. Although 19 percent of the women currently had one child, only three percent (N = 18) of the 583 women in the sample stated that they desired an only child. Thus, most women who currently had one child (84 percent) desired and planned to have at least one additional child before the end of their childbearing years. All but one of the 18 women who wanted an only child actually had one child; one women had

two children, but desired only one. Women who desired an only child were somewhat more likely to report subfecundity than were other women. Twenty-three percent of those who desired one child reported subfecundity in their fertility histories while only 14 percent of those who desired two or more children reported subfecundity.

Desire for one child and desire for no children were approximately equally likely to occur in the sample. Twelve childless women (and five women of higher parities) desired no children as compared to 18 women who desired one child. The number most frequently produced and desired was three or more (N = 146) rather than two children (N = 92), probably because of the older birth cohorts in this sample.

Eight times as many childless women desired two or more children as wanted to remain childless. The finding that none of the women who were childless desired one child could indicate that only after a woman has a child does she grow to like and desire the one child state. While the use of cross-sectional data from certain birth cohorts to draw generalizations regarding longitudinal changes in individual fertility desires is at best tricky, a hypothesis for future longitudinal research might be that non-subfecund one-child women are likely to lower their family size desires after a first birth, because they find they do not like the parenthood role as well as had been anticipated or they realize that parenthood is more time consuming than initially anticipated and that additional childbearing would interfere with desirable alternative activities and role options.

Demographic differences between women desiring one child and other women in the sample generally were not significant. However, those desiring one child were somewhat older (36.33 versus 34.03) and were some-

what less likely to be Catholic (22 percent versus 41 percent) than the total sample.

The Values of Parenthood for Women Who Want an Only Child

One hypothesis stated in the introduction was that those who desire one child like children less or receive fewer benefits from interacting with children than do women who want more children. In general, this prediction appeared to be upheld (see Table 2); F-tests revealed that when questioned about the values of parenthood in general those who desired one child rated as less important the challenge aspects of parenthood

Insert Table 2 About Here

($p < .01$), that it is fun to be around children ($p < .01$) and enjoyment of children's activities ($p < .02$) than did women who desired two or more children. Those who desired one child also were significantly less likely to believe in the importance of having a family, the positive benefits of children on marriage and the importance of children as an expression of love toward the husband ($p < .01$). Most other values (e.g., enjoyment of children, fulfillment, immortality, companionship, self-development, social contribution) received lower (although not significantly lower) importance ratings among women who wanted an only child than among those wanting two or more children. As might be expected, those women who preferred childlessness generally rated most satisfactions of parenthood (e.g., liking for children's activities, pride in child's accomplishment, children as enjoyable or fun, fulfillment) significantly lower in importance than did the only child women.

Another hypothesis was that only child women would see higher costs involved in direct interaction with children than would women who desired a larger number of children. As shown in Table 3, this hypothesis was

generally not supported. However, those who desired one child perceived the extra work involved in parenthood as a more important cost than did women who desired more than one child ($p < .05$), and they were more concerned about the limitation of freedom that parenthood entailed ($p < .01$), which lends support to the hypothesis that these women were more interested or involved in alternative activities or role options. Although differences were not significant, women that wanted an only child also were somewhat more likely to currently be employed full-time (44 percent versus 31 percent) and had been employed a larger proportion of the time since marriage (58 percent versus 48 percent) than had other women.

Since the rewards and costs discussed thus far reflect assessment of parenthood in general rather than future parenthood, the concern about limitation of freedom could indicate that only child women are persons who find the adjustment to having a child difficult in terms of limitation of other roles and activities and who, therefore, may lower their fertility desires. However, limitation of employment is not rated as a more important cost of parenthood by those desiring only children. Those who desired an only child actually saw lower economic costs ($p < .05$) and less worry and concern ($p < .05$) associated with parenthood than did women who desired higher parities.

The Values of Employment Among Women Who Desire an Only Child

No significant differences occurred on the positive or negative values of employment among women who desired different numbers of children. However, women who wanted more than one child rated feeling guilty about leaving child, lack of time for children and negative effects on the children as more important (but not significantly more important) costs of employment than did women wanting only one child.

Overall Differences Between Women Desiring One and More Than One Child

In order to attempt to assess women's overall satisfaction with parenthood and employment and motivation for additional parenthood, additive summary measures of each of the these variables were computed. Satisfaction with parenthood (SAT) was conceptualized as the sum of the importance ratings of the rewards (R_p) and costs (C_p) of parenthood in general (i.e., SAT = $\Sigma R_p - \Sigma C_p$). Satisfaction with employment, based on the perceived rewards and costs of employment, and motivation for an additional child, based on the perceived rewards and costs of an additional child, were derived in the same manner. This conceptualization and methodology are more fully discussed in previous papers (Beckman, in press).

Results showed that women who desired only children showed lower overall rewards of parenthood in general ($p < .01$), lower rewards of additional children ($p < .01$), lower satisfaction with parenthood ($p < .01$) and lower motivation for an additional child ($p < .01$) than did women who desired two or more children. In contrast, women who desired an only child saw higher rewards of parenthood in general, higher costs of work and had higher perceived satisfaction with parenthood than did women who did not desire any children. These results confirm common sense predictions. Women choose their desired family size on the basis of the positive or negative values of parenthood which they consider important.

Answers to an open-ended question asking why a particular family size was desired provide corroborating data. Women who wanted one child were more likely to mention the negative aspects of parenthood as a reason for their family size desires than were those wanting two or more children (28 percent versus five percent, $\chi^2 = 13.04$, $p < .01$). Women desiring two children were more likely (than one child women) to mention the problems of

rearing an only child (24 percent versus zero percent, $\chi^2 = 4.22$, $p < .05$), and women who desired two or more children were more likely to state a family size was good for the children than were those desiring one child (26 percent versus zero percent, $\chi^2 = 5.88$, $p < .05$). Women who desired three or more children said their liking for children influences their family size desires (23 percent-three or more children; six percent-one child; four percent-two children) ($\chi^2 = 37.68$, $p < .01$), while those who desired smaller family sizes were more concerned about the number they could handle (39 percent-one child; 37 percent-two children; 16 percent-three or more children) ($\chi^2 = 30.04$, $p < .01$).

Values Promoting Progression to a Higher Parity as Related to Current Parity

One additional analysis related to desire for a specific family size considered the question of the values that influence most one child women to have another child as compared with the values influencing women with two or more children to have an additional child (see Table 4). Women with

Insert Table 4 About Here

one child who desired at least one additional child were more likely to rate as important in decisions regarding additional children companionship for one's present child/children ($p < .01$), love for the husband ($p < .01$), the husband's desire for another child ($p < .01$), the challenge aspects of parenthood ($p < .05$) and desire for a boy ($p < .05$) than were women with two or more children who desired at least one more child. One child women were less likely to mention liking for big families than were two or more children women ($p < .01$). The one child women were less likely to feel they were too old to have another child ($p < .05$), to think their husband did not want another child ($p < .01$) or to think an additional child would have a negative effect on present children ($p < .05$). These results may

suggest that many one child women were more likely to desire another child for essentially altruistic reasons; to please their husbands or provide companionship for their child.

Discussion

The 18 women in this sample who desired one child appear to fall intermediate between those who desired no children and those who desired two or more children on their ratings of the importance of various positive values of parenthood. They were less likely to think children were fun to be around and to enjoy children's activities or childcare tasks than were women who desired two or more children. They also were less likely to believe in the importance of having a family, the positive benefits of parenthood on marriage or in children as an expression of love for the husband. On the costs side, they were more concerned about children limiting freedom and the extra work caused by children than were women who desired two or more children. In general, they had lower satisfaction with and motivation for parenthood than women desiring two or more children but higher satisfaction with parenthood and higher costs of employment than women desiring no children. Analysis of reasons for wanting different family sizes revealed that persons who wanted at least two children more frequently mentioned that this family size was good for the children or the problems of an only child than did women desiring one child who were more likely to indicate the negative aspects of parenthood in general. Comparison of women who had one child and desired a second child with women who had at least two children and desired another child revealed that the husband's desire for another child, love for the husband, desire for a male child and companionship for a present child were rated as more important by the one child women. In comparison to higher parity women, women with one child who desired to bear a second child did not

do so because of their personal satisfactions to be gained from children but rather because of normative pressures and altruistic concerns involving first child and husband.

Although conclusions based on any small sample must be drawn with caution, these results suggest that mothers of only children generally are not enamored with childbearing. Although they perceive considerable satisfaction from parenthood and generally have a positive satisfaction with parenthood index, they at first glance appear not to be as satisfied with parenthood as their higher parity sisters. They see their present child as less enjoyable and as having a less positive effect on their marriage than do their higher parity sisters. They are somewhat more likely to be involved in alternative role activities such as employment and, thus, are more concerned about the limitations of freedom and activities that children cause.

A reasonable hypothesis might be that the lukewarm or conflicted attitudes toward parenthood of women who choose an only child might negatively affect the parent-child relationships and family interaction patterns. While it has been suggested that disturbed interaction patterns (Eiduson, 1976) and emotional disturbance in the child (Terhune, 1974) are more characteristic of only child families, research regarding the characteristics of only children and their families is still in its infancy and conflicting results also are available. Furthermore, in the present sample, certain personal benefits of parenthood, such as pride in the child's accomplishments and aiding the child's learning and development, received high importance ratings among most women who desired any children. Such personal benefits may pre-empt the significance of other costs or benefits, i.e., as long as such personal benefits are rated highly by the woman, she will find the parent-child relationship satisfactory.

The most highly rated personal benefit of parenthood, love and the relationship between parent and child, was rated as high by only child choosers as by other women. Thus, despite their need for freedom and other activities and their often lukewarm attitudes toward some aspects of childbearing, those who desired an only child claimed to have satisfactory (or even advantaged) relationships with their child in this one important area compared to other women. Whether, to paraphrase a line from a popular song, this finding indicates that "All you need is love," or whether women who choose only children have excessively close, demanding or disturbed relationships with their children remains to be discovered.

References

Beckman, L. J. Relative costs and benefits of work and children to professional and non-professional women. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association meetings, New Orleans, 1974.

Beckman, L. J. Exchange theory and fertility related decision-making. Journal of Social Psychology, in press.

Beckman, L. J. Motivations, roles and family planning of women. Final report prepared for Center for Population Research, NIH, Grant HD 07323, 1976.

Blake, J. Ideal family size among white Americans: A quarter of a century's evidence. Demography, 1966, 3, 154-173.

Davidson, A. and Jaccard, J. Population psychology: A new look at an old problem. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 1073-1082.

Eiduson, B. T. Dynamics of the one-child family. Paper presented at the American Psychological Association meetings, Washington, D.C., 1976.

Fawcett, J. T. Psychology and childbearing. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1971.

Gough, H. Personality assessment in the study of population. In J. T. Fawcett (Ed.), Psychological perspectives on population. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Kiesler, S. B. Family size norms: Some experimental evidence. Unpublished paper, University of Kansas, n.d.

Kish, L. Survey sampling. New York: Wiley, 1965.

Lott, B. E. Who wants children? Some relationships among attitudes toward children, parents and the liberation of women. American Psychologist, 1973, 28, 573-582.

Rainwater, L. Family design: Marital sexuality, family planning, and family limitations. Chicago: Aldine, 1965.

Roof, M. Angelenos on the move. Greater Los Angeles Community Action Agency, 1975.

Ryder, N. B. and Westoff, C. F. Wanted and unwanted fertility in the United States: 1965 and 1970. In C. F. Westoff and R. Parkes, Jr. (Eds.), The Commission on Population Growth and the American Future Research Reports. Vol. 1. Demographic and social aspects of population growth. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972.

Terhune, K. W. Fertility values: Why people have children. Paper presented at American Psychological Association meetings, Canada, 1973.

Terhune, K. W. A review of the actual and expected consequences of family size. Final report prepared for Center for Population Research NICHD, Contract NO1-HD-3-2751, 1974.

Thompson, V. Family size: Implicity policies and assumed psychological outcomes. Journal of Social Issues, 1974, 30, 93-124.

Thompson, V. D. and Appelbaum, M. I. Social psychological approaches to studies of population issues. Paper presented at American Psychological Association meetings, Washington, D.C., 1971.

Townes, B. D., Campbell, F. L., Beach, L. R. and Martin, D. C. An application of decision theory to the study of birth planning. Paper presented at American Psychological Association meetings, New Orleans, 1974.

Westoff, C. F., Potter, R. G. and Sagi, P. C. The third child. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Westoff, C. F., Potter, R. C., Sagi, P. C. and Mishler, E. G. Family growth in metropolitan American. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961

Whelpton, P. K., Campbell, A. A. and Patterson, J. Fertility and family

planning in the United States. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Footnote

[1]Rewards of parenthood include relationship with the child (giving and getting love), enjoyment of children, watching their growth and development, self-development and growth, fulfillment, and helping and guiding the child's growth and development. Costs of parenthood include limitation of freedom, opportunity and privacy, interference with a career, the great responsibility involved, worry regarding the child, and financial costs. Rewards of employment include self-definition and esteem, challenge, mental stimulation, social interaction and financial benefits. Costs of employment include lack of time for other interests or activities, interference with needs of the children, routine and lack of autonomy, and dislike of the characteristics of the particular job. An unpublished paper, "The Relative Rewards and Costs of Parenthood and Employment of Employed Women," which categorizes individual rewards and costs is available from the author.

Table 1. Number of Children Desired by Number of Children Raised

	Number Wanted				
Number Raised	Want 0	Want 1	Want 2	Want 3+	Total
Have 0	12	0	46	35	93
Have 1	2	17	51	41	111
Have 2	1	1	103	66	171
Have 3+	2	0	26	180	208
Total	17	18	226	322	583

Table 2. Mean Values of Structured Positive Parenthood Items by Number of Children Desired

Items	Want 0	Want 1	Want 2+
Love between parent and child	3.76 **	6.72	6.64
Pride in children's accomplishments	4.65 **	6.50	6.50
Like having a family	3.00 **	5.33 **	6.39
Enjoy being a parent	2.41 **	5.89	6.36
Aid in development and learning (teaching role)	3.71 **	5.72	6.21
Observe growth in children	3.47 **	5.67	6.07
Enjoy activities with children	3.23 **	5.28	6.06
Social contribution	4.76	5.28	5.93
Fun to be around children	2.76 **	4.67 **	5.97
Challenge of being a parent	2.65 **	5.00 *	5.88
Self-development and growth	3.12 *	5.11	5.75
Sense of fulfillment	2.23 **	4.89	5.71
Enjoy taking care of children (nurturance)	2.29 **	4.39 **	5.70
Expression of love toward husband	3.00	3.56 **	5.64
Provide me with companionship	2.35 **	4.67	5.45
Comfort in old age	2.88 *	4.56	5.40
Keep me feeling young	2.00 *	4.00	4.77
Part of me will live on (immortality)	2.35	3.39	4.76
Strengthen marital bond (positive effect on marriage)	1.06 **	3.00 **	4.70
Carry on family name and traditions	2.23	2.39 **	4.36

**p <.01

*p <.05

Table 3. Mean Values of Structured Negative Parenthood Items by Number of Children Desired

Item	Want 0	Want 1	Want 2+
Great responsibility	5.65	6.22	5.89
Worry about child's health and well-being	4.94	4.78 *	5.69
Worry about the world children grow up in	5.12	5.06	5.42
Hard to find good childcare	4.00	2.06	2.13
Discipline problems	5.06	3.89	4.58
Economic costs	4.53	3.28 **	4.52
Children sometimes irritating	5.29	4.67	4.31
Population problem	6.29 *	4.72	3.94
Don't always turn out as wanted	4.71	3.39	3.76
Feel guilty spending time away	3.23	3.61	3.78
Extra work	4.29	4.22 *	3.15
Less time to do other things	4.89 **	2.78	3.02
Limit freedom and privacy	5.18	3.94 **	2.69
Doubts about own adequacy	3.29	3.33	2.62
Noise, mess, annoyance	4.00	3.00	2.38
Don't have patience for raising children	5.06	3.11	2.15
Interfere with employment	4.0 *	2.06	2.13
Negative effect on marriage	4.24	2.83	2.05

**p <.01

*p <.05

Table 4. Summary of Means of Additional Children Items for Women Who Want More Children

Items	Have One Child	Have More Than One Child
Rewards		
Want companion for my child	5.99	4.40
Like large families	3.41	5.00
Husband wants a child	4.77	2.77
Challenge of being a parent	5.12	4.38
Expression of love toward husband	4.86	3.77
Want a Boy	4.29	3.49
Costs		
Too old to have a child	2.04	2.88
Have enough children already	1.37	2.96
Children sometimes irritating	2.97	3.55
Negative effect on present children	0.83	1.38
Husband doesn't want a child	1.42	2.96
Great responsibility	4.98	5.63